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The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty."

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country."

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tauvu*) to Lomati.

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives.

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry.

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Niumataiwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 57).

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere).

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the stone was replaced by a wooden mortar, and a short iron bar as pestle. This method, ascribed to some Solomon Islanders, spread from Viti Levu. It was not nearly so picturesque, but more convenient.

The strainer consists of long shreds of the inner bark of the *vau* and is therefore called *i vauvau*.

Tongan Kava Ceremony in Lau

At night the people go round calling, frequently taking with them a parcel of kava, which is placed before the host. The host says in Tongan, "Thanks for the kava" (*fakafeta i mau kawa*). Sometimes Fijian tobacco is brought as "that which is divided with the kava" (*i wase ni yanggona*). The kava brought by the visitor, or some of the host's own, is passed to a young person, usually a girl or young woman, sitting near the lower door, who proceeds to pound it, pausing now and again to listen to the conversation. The elderly people sit in a semicircle in the middle and on the sides, in no particular order, but the chief person is usually at the top facing the door. They sit tailor fashion, and being not so strict as in Tonga, occasionally reverse the position of their legs. The young women make cigarettes with shreds of tobacco leaf, dried against a lantern and rolled within a piece of dried banana leaf, the kind called *pata* being preferred. After taking a few puffs, they bring them to the people in the ring. As spitoons, empty meat tins with a flower or two inside, are distributed. If one of the herald clan is present, he will act as master of ceremonies; if not, one of the lesser noblemen present will do the honors. When the kava has been pounded it is placed in the bowl, behind which a girl sits with her back to the door, while another sits on one side facing the bowl. The bowl is then tilted forward to show to the master of ceremonies with the words, "The kava has been pounded" (*koe kawa nae tuki*). The whole ceremonial is Tongan. The master of ceremonies orders, "knead" (*palu*). The kava is pressed together with the hands sloping forward. The girl who sits on one side pours water on the kava, and the kava maker begins to knead the kava by rolling it backwards and forwards, with the hands sloping forward. Then the strainer is brought, dipped in the water, lifted up and squeezed so that the master of ceremonies may judge whether there is enough water.

He says, "water" (*wai*); or "stop" (*tuku*). The strainer is then placed in a semicircle round the further end of the bowl, drawn towards the operator, like a net, folded, and passed round the edge of the bowl so as to keep the whole surface wet, then wrung over the bowl. When all the water has been squeezed out, the strainer is held in the middle, shaken, and combed with the fingers over a piece of cloth. The strainer is then dipped again and the operation is repeated till the kava is clear. Then the bowl

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is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping).

The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death-feasts (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his absence, Tui Mereke, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald

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pitious, let the Government be propitious, and let there be a fair wind for the journey."

Then follows a small feast prepared by the people of the place for the travellers.

When a lady is to be welcomed, the ceremony is particularly impressive. A woman sits on either side of the visitor, the other women sit facing her and clap, then sing out, "The greenheart tree has drifted [hither]," [13] to which the two women answer, "*E, e,*" and clap. This is followed by the mat carrying (*taki tambakau*), two ladies bearing a mat in the same way as described for the men (p. 73). Then comes the wading present of whales' teeth and other gifts.

In Tumbou, the wading ceremony and calling on one another is done only for the Tui Naiau, his eldest sister, her son, and for the Vunivalu of Mbau or his wife, but not for his family. It is not done for Randi Naiau unless she belongs to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands it is only done for a noble of Tumbou or for their own local chief.

FEASTS

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A feast, *mangiti,* is always made for presentation to some one, not to regale oneself. There are raw feasts and cooked feasts. Feasts are never boiled (except sauce for the puddings), but cooked in hot stones; hence a small private feast is often called an oven (*lovo*).

The basis of a feast is taro or yams. Yam feasts are the most common, but not so highly esteemed. If a husband provided only yams at his wedding, the wife would say, "Don't be proud; you had only a yam feast."

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Yams are counted by pieces, for instance 16 pieces per clan. Pieces are ends, for the small yams are cut in two, the large ones cut in three and only ends are used because it is not respectful to present the middle; it is like cutting into small pieces for the pot, like bringing them without ceremony. As delicacies pigs are served always at big feasts; beef, fresh or tinned, though less esteemed, is often substituted because easier to procure; fish wrapped in leaves with an outer covering of coconut leaf, the fronds tied together at the ends are provided; also puddings of mashed taro or breadfruit with sugar-cane sauce. As soon as the puddings for a feast are ready, one is quickly taken to Great House for approval; it is called the tip of the oven (*vuso ni lovo*).

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When the feast is cooked the food is placed in baskets of plaited coconut leaves; each man hangs a basket on either end of a stick and so carries them on his shoulder to the gathering place.

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[13] The green heart tree, *vesi*, is the finest, the most honored in Fiji.

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In presenting a feast sometimes the custom of Moala and the West is now followed, the procedure exactly as in other offerings (p. 63). But the Lauan custom is to put it down and say, "It is a small feast," and so on, to which the others answer:

"It is enough; thanks for the trouble." Following is a description of a small feast presented in this manner to the District Chief of Kambara, Tui Namuka, and myself by the people of Oneata:

When the puddings were finished they were wrapped into parcels. What was left over was eaten by the cooks. The feast was put into baskets and brought to the house where we lodged. As the bearers came up they said, "*O, oa!*" set down the baskets before the door, and squatted down outside.

Our herald moved up towards the door and turning to us said, "I will call out the feast for you, sirs" (*Au sa vakamangiti saka yani*), then clapping three times, he sang out, "*A, mangiti,*" dwelling long on the last syllable but one.

Then all clapped and said, "*Amunduo,*" clapped again and said, "*Amunduo,*" then clapped three times.

Our party then replied, "Thanks for the love and the trouble."

The Oneatans said, "Be gracious, the land is famished; there is nothing to be found; as much as we have found we have warmed up." Then they got up and departed. Those who attended on us divided it according to the directions of the herald; one man counted the food, reckoned out the shares, and ranged the baskets; this is called *tuvu lau*, to stand and count. When all was ready the herald said to him, "Touch it for us" (*tambaka mai*); whereupon he touched each share, calling out, "For London. For Kambara. For the Namuka cutter."

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At great feasts in which the whole of Lakemba takes part, besides the herald are officials called Tui Ra (Lords of Below); in other parts they are called Tui Rara (Lords of the Green). There are two in Natokalau, Tui Ra of Yandrana and Tui Ra of Vakano; one in Navuaira, Tui Ra of Waitambu, the herald being the second. The duties of the Lords of the Green and of the herald tend to go together; they refer matters to one another. Lords of the Green are they who assign contributions (*a i lesilesi ni mangiti*), and decide the amount of the feast; they vie with one another in quantity, and the chiefs of Tumbou hearken to them. The Lord of the Green of Waitambu fixes the amount for Navuaira; and the Lord of the Green of Yandrana, for Natokalau. They sit at the lower end of the house, discuss the quantity and inform the chief. If they decide it will be one thousand from each clan it is difficult for the chief to alter it. They also divide the feast.

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If the Lord of the Green of Yandrana is absent, the Lord of the Green of Vakano fixes the amount. If it is a state affair (*ka vaka vanua*), if a sovereign state (*matanitu*) comes, such as Thakaundrove or Mbau, and they make a very big feast, two Lords of the Green only are called, from Waitambu for Navuaira, from Yandrana for Natokalau. The Lord of the Green of Vakano decides things in his own village; he is Lord of the Green to Nasangalau, and if Tumbou proper are assembled as kinsmen, and the High Chief is not there, the Lord of the Green of Vakano may speak: he is Lord of the Green to Tui Tumbou. The people of Yandrana claim that their Lord of the Green takes precedence of all the Lords of the Green in

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574 The Yandrana people claim that if the nobles came for a feast to their village, the Yandrana folk, as "teeth" (*mbati*) took no part in carrying the share of the feast of the land to Tumbou; it formerly was forbidden to call upon them to do so, for this was the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, but now they may not refuse because of the law of disobedience instituted by the British government.

574 462 252 Feasts, like all food cooked in hot stones, are prepared by the men. Guests are often honored by a breakfast of boiled food prepared, like all boiled food, by the women. The women come in single file to the guest's house, each bearing on her arm a tray of plaited coconut leaf called *i lalakai* and perhaps a gipsy pot containing fish boiled in coconut cream. The women enter the house and lay the food before the guests. This custom is called *takitaki* (carrying trays).

FESTIVALS OR POTLATCHES

Lauan Style

431 574 The word festival is a convenient translation of the word *solevu*, but it does not express its essence, which is a ceremonial exchange of presents between two groups with the accompaniment of feasts, often dances, and sometimes cricket. Perhaps the American word potlatch best renders its essential character of a competition between two teams. The word apparently is composed of *so*, to score in a game, and *levu*, big; it is therefore a "great competition," and in fact a competitive spirit dominates these festivals. The side that gives most is said to be victorious (*nggangga*); the other is beaten (*ndruka*).

The following account has been obtained:

The visitors present their stuff, first piling it up in the open. Then one of their nobles, holding up a whale's tooth, or teeth, speaks: "*Ia*, little tooth."

The other party, the hosts, then exclaim, "*Woi! woi!*"

He begins again: "A little tooth."

The others cry out "*A woi! woi!* great whale's tooth, *oi!*" (Some people go wrong here and shout this after the first time.) If the potlatch is on the occasion of disregarding mourning (*vakataraisulu*) the visitor proceeds, "The towel (*ka ni solo*) to make things right for so and so at his death. We who are forbidden [ordinary] clothes, we come and take off our clothes to you that we may love one another. My speech is long, etc." A nobleman from the other side stands up and takes the whale's teeth, and cries out, "*kamunganga.*"

The hosts answer "*oi, oi, oi.*"

The visitor continues (*kamunganga*), and makes a short speech. He then hands the teeth over to his heralds, who receives them sitting, kisses them, and prays over them (*maulaki*). The people who are going out of mourning have wrapped themselves round with good new bark cloth; which they now remove and lay down before their hosts. This is a common custom at potlatches and is described as "taking off one's clothes to So-and-so." It would be disrespectful for a herald to present the

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whale's teeth in the manner of other offerings, for this would imply that the nobleman did not know how to speak. If only the herald speaks on the side of the givers, only the herald will speak on the other side also.

When the visitors are about to take leave, the hosts hold a send-off festival (*solevu ni talatalathi*). Should the people of Tumbou be sending off Tongans, they bring a feast which is piled up (*kele*) for the Tongans, who divide it. The time is then set for bringing manufactured articles, when they bring hardware (*i yau kaukaua*) in the following order: coir rope, kava bowls, head rests, on the top of which they place bales of Fijian sheets of bark cloth (*ngatu*). These are called the presents of the feast (*i yau ni mangiti*). The hosts then go to clothe themselves, and returning sit facing the Tongans. One man stands up before the gentlemen and opening his speech in the manner described above, continues:

A small tooth and a few bits of wood [wooden wares] that lie here, and a few thatch leaves [meaning mats] there, and a few towels that lie about, the send-off for you, our kinsmen who have come from Tonga. If it is little, bear with it. I know that the times have changed; moreover the present time is a time when all wares (*i yau*) are exhausted; at the present time there are other lords that rule the land, Great Britain; they restrain our hand; we do not know the plaiting of mats. But you bear with it; we are kinsmen; let us love one another, etc. My speech is lengthy, etc.

The guests answer "*e*," and one of their noblemen stands up, receives the whale's teeth as described above and says, "The gifts (*kamunanga*) brought from you, gentlemen, gifts of concord" and so on, then he choses for the winding-up some remark such as, "Let the path to Tonga be clear." Then the Tongans bring a coconut (*vono ni kamunanga*) which is prayed over in the usual way.[13] Both guests and hosts then stand up and shake hands. The Tumbou people pile their shirts on the top of the goods and retire.

In December, 1911, I witnessed a ceremonial exchange between Tumbou and Ale.

The chief of Ale in Kandavu, who had been appointed by the government head of the province of Kandavu, had married the elder sister of the present High Chief's mother. His wife and Ratu Finau were therefore first cousins according to European reckoning, brother and sister according to Fijian custom. Ratu Finau's daughter was called after this lady, and when this child died the chief of Ale and his wife proposed to come and hold a potlatch in Lakemba.

The festival was none too popular in Lakemba because there never had been a potlatch between Lakemba and Kandavu; they are not related; it was purely a personal affair of Ratu Finau, who passed it on to the ladies to be their festival. They provided the stuff and received the stuff from the Kandavu people. Ratu Finau did not do it by way of command, but by way of kinship.

A long time ahead the ladies were busy preparing sheets (*ngatu*) and oil. At last on December the 10th a small party from Kandavu came. They were lodged in Vatuwangga, Ratu Finau's large house. On their arrival they offered as earnest or first fruit (*i sevusevu*) a huge kava root which stood as high as a man's chest.

[13] This must be a mistake. At the festival I witnessed the coconut was presented by the givers. The ending of the prayer would also be more appropriate to the other side.

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Next morning about half-past ten the ladies assembled between Yangasa and Vunisavisavi with provisions laid on trays and covered with banana or breadfruit leaves. Headed by Samuela, the herald, they advanced in single file and as they entered Ratu Finau's compound sang out *ninggo,* entered his house by the west door and set down the provisions. Ratu Finau and the gentlemen of Lakemba were not present. The herald offered up (*vaka-thambo*) the food in the usual style. A Kandavu man touched it, gave a peculiar and prolonged clapping and chanted: "Feast; kava as relish."

Then the Kandavu people said, "Good, good," and the Lakemban party dispersed.

The ladies of Tumbou then dressed in red or in blue gowns, and wrapping themselves round the waist with sheets of Tongan cloth (*ngatu*), drew up in two files on the south side of the compound, the red on the left, the blue on the right, Salesi's wife leading one of the files. Then they entered the compound and as they passed the gate they again sang out, *ninggo,* and wheeled—the red to the left, the blue to the right—and going round joined into a single rank, and sat down facing the guests, who were sitting in a line with their backs against plinth of the house.

One lady said, "Let us call to them" (*tou kathi manda yani*) and the whole line bent forwards and with clasped hands outstretched said:

"The green heart tree has floated hither" (*e thiri mai a vesi*).

The ladies sat up, and again bent forward as before and said, *"e."* They all arose, took off their bark cloth, and piled it up before the guests. A Kandavu man brought a large kava root and offered it up, and the herald touched it. A Kandavu man then sat down by the pile of bark cloth and chanted *"kamunanga,"* while another man sat down on the other side; both clapped, and removed the cloth. The ladies retired.

This is the ceremony of "wading" or "calling" as performed for a lady. Properly, a woman from among the heralds should have led the calling, but the woman of Narewandamu did not know how to speak. It was not considered right to do it for the Kandavu lady, as she is not a lady of the land.

Later in the day notables of Lakemba came and sat down in a row in front of the District Chief's house. The Kandavu people filed in with raw mulberry bark for making bark cloth. They were greeted with cries of "Thanks for the mulberry bark! A land great in planting mulberry. *Uru uru uru.*" The Kandavu people retired.

A pause ensued during which the elders of Lakemba occasionally exclaimed, "Good, good."

Presently the Kandavu people, assisted by some of the chief's household, reappeared with mats which they set down to the cries of, "Thanks for the plaiting. Well done, Lady Kelera, lady . . .," and so forth. They came

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back a third time and the Lakemba people warmed up and cried, "Good. It's a sugar to me." 431 574

The Lakembans grew hilarious; one cried, "Sefanaia, you are sugar to Motea [Peni's wife]." One lady took a Kandavu man by the arm; great merriment. Young Kandavu men came in to dance; and the Lakembans cried, *ururu* in a high pitch, and rapidly patting their mouths, and screeching *iii* at the end. The dancers sat down facing the elders, but the ladies cried out, "Face this way." They danced the *vakamalolo*, after which a gentleman of Ale came forward with a bunch of teeth and stood before the elders of Lakemba. He offered them in the manner described on page 79, making the customary speech.

The High Chief's father's brother then stood up, took the whale's teeth and made a speech, saying that Lakemba was a small land, and so on, ending, "and let it be offered up and emerge."[18a] While he was speaking the gentleman from Kandavu remained standing. Tui Tumbou then received the teeth and made a longer speech to the effect that Lakemba was a small land whereas Kandavu was the longest in Fiji. Then the people said *amunduo*, etc. At this point the women and children made off with great noise to the indignation of the elders, who said it was behaving like country-folk. 431 574 557

Then the head of the senior branch of Tanggalavu brought a mature coconut and offered it up to the gentlemen of Kandavu. The Ale herald sang out *vono*. Kava was then brought, and the Tumbou man offered it up, saying it was only a small festival, but Kandavu was a great place for paper mulberry. The Ale herald acknowledged. Then the elders retired after asking the Kandavu lady that the dancers might face the ladies. The dancers then danced to the rapid beat of a wooden drum held on the forearms of a boy. The women crowded round them; some came and kissed them. One lady came and put a calico over the head of a Kandavu man amid cries of, *"Wela! wela! wela!"* The women tied silk handkerchiefs round the dancers' necks. The Kandavu men seemed to get very excited. 431 574 535

After the dance all the men retired and the ladies sat down facing the gifts. The mats were divided according to what each division had contributed to the presents intended for the guests. The wife of the chief of the clan of nobles directed the operations and a lady of Tanggalevu made the heaps. They did not count the total and divide proportionately, but simply counted the mats as they laid them on the heaps, keeping them in a certain proportion. When all was ready, another lady struck each heap with a piece of mulberry bark and called out the recipients. 431 574

The High Chief did not appear at the ceremony. If Mbau or Thakaun-

[18a] This was a blunder which was afterward severely criticized.

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drove were the visitors he would have taken part; but this festival he had passed on to the ladies.

Next day was the "send off" (*italathi*). The pig, taro, puddings, and kava were collected outside Yangasa and taken over to Great House. As they entered the gate the men said, *"O, oa."* The taro was set down and transferred from the usual rough basket (*kato*), plaited for the occasion, into big round ones. Then the Lakembans sat down and clapped, and Semi of Tumbou went to sit before the Kandavu people to offer it up. The Kandavu people kept interjecting, "Tambu, Tambu." Their herald then came to sit beside the pig, laid hands upon it, sat up, gave a prolonged clapping, and bending forward sang out, "A little feast, pig and kava to go with it." Then the Tumbou people withdrew, leaving the Kandavu party to cut up the pig.

Throughout no one on the Lakemban side thought of coming to talk with the Kandavu people or making friends with them; and the Kandavu people kept very much together, remaining inside the compound of Great House, because they were not related to the Lakemba people.

Late in the day the ladies began to collect bottles of oil at Salesi's house. The cowhide drum was beaten for the third time, and ladies filed into Roko Sau's enclosure with a *ninggo*, and laid the bottles in a row at the foot of the plinth. The Kandavu party sat on the top of the plinth, singing snatches of their dance. The High Chief was looking on from inside. The sheets of bark cloth were brought in. A pause was punctuated by the Kandavu people with "Good, good."

Then a small sheet was brought in; a nobleman of Naivi stood up with whale's teeth in his hand; two ladies wrapped the sheet round his waist and he presented the teeth with words to this effect, "Now the times have changed. This is a small land. This is a path that we may visit one another hereafter. We are related to the lady. This is to clear the path, etc."

A man of Kandavu received the teeth, saying, "I touch this small tooth . . . and let the church grow." His herald clapped a prolonged clap and sang out *"kamunanga."* The Naivi nobleman left his bark cloth behind; Kandavu men came up, clapped, and removed it.

The dancers assembled at the east end of the Green. The dance was over at half-past six. At the end of it the men and the women presented their girdles of bark cloth or other ornaments to the Kandavu people. A few tied handkerchiefs round their necks. The Kandavu party left next day.

One New Year a ceremonial exchange was held between the young folk of Tai and of Tumbou. The young folk of Tai so warmed up to it that

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they wanted another, but Tumbou could not stand the strain; the Tui Tumbou confessed himself beaten, and presented an entreaty gift to the Roko Sau in order that it might not be held again. 431 574

At ceremonial exchanges in connection with weddings and births one side brings stuff to the other's quarters; the other side brings theirs to the house of the first, and so they go backwards and forwards several times. This is called carrying to and fro (*veikauyaki*).

There is a variety of ceremonial exchange called *veisa*, or pairing off; the two parties sit facing one another, and each man exchanges with his opposite. It is an exchange by payment (*solevu saumi*); there is no fixed price, but they try to surpass one another (*veisisivi*); if one gives little he gets a bad reputation.

Tongan Style

After Tongans came the potlatches were in Tongan style. On one occasion the visitors took their bark cloth, kava, and so forth into the house and presented it to the High Chief, saying, "I have come; there is nothing we could find." In Tongan style they speak briefly; not as in Fiji, where they present whale's teeth, and speak at length, then present kava, and so on. They brought little; had they brought much every one would have got some, but only Levuka and Tumbou proper got any, and so made gifts (*vala i yau*) in return; the people who get nothing are not obliged to give anything. 431 574 177

For the send-off the Tongans sat down on the plinth of Malani's house, facing the Green. Two upright sticks were set up before the house, and between these were piled mats. The Tui Tumbou and the Chief of Nasangalau sat facing the Tongans. The Tui Tumbou stood and explained to them that the Lakembans were poor. He made a simple speech. When he had finished a Tongan rushed down the steps and made a vehement speech in Tongan. Then followed a small dance by Nasangalau and Vakano. The High Chief took no part, but sat aloof on the plinth of the house.

Song and Dance

Tongan dances

Apart from singing there is no poetry, and no singing (except church singing) apart from dancing. The word *meke* covers all; the words are the "fragments" or "sentences" of the dance (*mala ni meke*); the music is fall of the dance (*i mbalembale*); the gestures are "the face." The composition of the dance is called teaching. 533 535

There are no Lauan dances; the Lauans are masters of dancing, but 535 177

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40).

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, *"O oa."* If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald.

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island.

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast."

FISHING

Net Fishing

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there.

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year.

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish.

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing, applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The fish presently come forth to escape the poison, but being already intoxicated they move slowly. Thus they are easily speared.

Men sometimes go out with torches at low tide and hack the fish they find sleeping in the shallow waters. It is believed that a shark missed by a spear cannot be caught as he grows angry and his body becomes so hard that the spear rebounds no matter how sharp it be.

Crab Hunting

The land crab (*lairo*) is very common. It is caught and eaten whenever found, but at one time of the year it is hunted and drawn out of the holes. The crabs found in the village are not eaten because they feed on rubbish.

The coconut crab is common about Tarukua. Prawns are caught with nets by the women.

Bagging Palolo

The palolo (*mbalolo*) is a worm that lives in the sea but makes its appearance usually only once a year, sometimes twice a year, in November or December before dawn. When it does appear it swarms in such quantities in the passages that it can be scooped out with tins and mugs. This lasts an hour or so, then they disappear.

The following is compiled from information received from several individuals:

In Lakemba the coming of the palolo is confined to the passages off Tumbou. It is also bagged in Naiau and some of the Southern Islands.

In olden days people knew the time of swarming by watching the sun: if it set half way up the hill of Vanua Vatu it was the time for bagging palolo. A few palolo appear the morning before the great day, and are called "the head of the palolo." It used to be the duty of Katumbalevu proper to go and watch for it. When they had caught some they brought it to the Tui Naiau, who then had it proclaimed in the village, "The head of the palolo is drifting." Then they all prepared nets like tennis rackets.

The night of the palolo there is always a squall known as the procrastinator of the palolo because the foolish think it will be cold out fishing, and so lie down and sleep; but the wise sit up and when they go out before the dawn the sky is clear, without a single black cloud. They go out in crowds and set to work as soon as the palolo begins to swarm, for there is no time to lose. As soon as the sun rises the swarm dissolves. The people go home and immediately make an oven. Till that time the weather has remained fine, but the moment the oven is buried clouds gather and it pours. This rain is called "the extinguisher of the embers." As soon as the oven is cooked they carry some off to the country villages; each man goes to his kinsmen in the country.

"It is the feast that we make for the country folk."

In return the country folk make a feast to take to those who bring the palolo; they make the feast in good style, using their biggest taro; this is the only occasion that will draw from the Yandrana people the large taro which they call Won't-go-to-Tumbou, because they never send it in feasts to Tumbou.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

names of patterns are Tongan;[19] nevertheless the people of the east coast of Viti Levu are said to be very skilled in this art, and they do fine work with fine coir string on the handles of clubs. This is not done in Lau. 284

Latu says, "The base (*vuna*) of all coir work is *veikuku*, or interlocking like two hooks. Some people say that coir work is a fraud (*ndaindai*, eye-wash), and that it is really easy, that there is only one principle to it with ramifications. But if done to deceive (*lasulasu*) it is wrong." It is true that all the patterns resolve themselves into spiral windings backwards and forwards round the beam, thus forming diamonds, nevertheless as Latu points out, the last stage is very different from the first. When he first began he made designs which seemed very fine until they were complete, and then they turned out poorly.

I have copied various patterns to the best of my ability (fig. 8). The word *manu* (bird) enters into the names of a good many patterns; it is a term for things that cross or are quartered (*veilatai*); *manu fekainaki* means to eat this side and that, and is used of a design which penetrates on first one side and then another. Different patterns are suitable for different parts: for the tie beams *palataha* (one-sided), and *ndra ni mbota*; for the center of tie-beams, any pattern.

STAGES AND CEREMONIALS OF HOUSEBUILDING

Home-building in the Fijian style is expensive, if properly done. Feasts are made for workers at each stage of the building. The carpenter is well fed all the time he works, a bowl of kava is always close at hand. The first stage is called digging the house (*kelivaki vale*): digging pits for the main posts, setting up the posts, the wall plate of the center part, the tie beams and the ridge beams, and binding them with coir string. A huge feast is made on that day. Every man who comes to work brings coir rope and gets a share of the feast. In the evening another little feast was made consisting of yams and pudding. The feast of the second day is comparatively small as only some of the people stay over. On the third day it is a very small feast because all except the owner and the carpenter are gone. 34:2 574

The putting on of the rafters (*vakasani*) was accompanied by a collation (*takitaki*) brought on trays by the ladies about one o'clock. Thatching (*timbitimbi*) is a very big affair. Word goes forth to pick the leaves, which are pinned together. A day is appointed to put on the thatching. A big feast is made because it finishes the house; a "big souled" gentleman will kill an ox. In Fiji proper, upon finishing a nobleman's house gifts

[19] Specimens of coir work were prepared for me by Latu, the Tongan, and are now in the Pitt-Rivers and Cambridge Ethnological Museums.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

342 574 (*i yau*) are given to the workers when they come down, called *vakevu* (to bring down); but in Lakemba there is only a feast, consisting of grated pudding and pig. Another similar feast is made for the walls.

342 When the house has been strewn with grass and mats kava is made, but no feast. This is called "spitting on the mats" (*kanusivi tambakau*), or "spitting on the house" (*kanusi vale*). There is no spitting.

An informant says:

342 643 565 House-building now is a poor affair compared with what it used to be. Of old the whole of Lakemba would come to build the Tui Naiau's house. Villages would work for a nobleman who was connected with them. If a man of Tumbou wished to have a house built he would carry a feast to the chief with his request; the chief would assign a certain village to build the house; of course the man had to feed them.

342 565 The side of the house towards the sea was called the noble side (*yasa turanga*), and with it went the east end, or, if the house were perpendicular to the seashore, the east side was the noble one, and with it went the sea end. If Tumbou village alone were building, Katumbalevu would work on the noble side, and Valelailai on the end that goes with it; in house-building Valelailai goes with Katumbalevu, that is why they are joined together as Tai; Tumbou quarter would divide the other side and end.

If the whole of Lakemba were building, the Town took the noble side; Wathiwathi and Waitambu would take the east end on account of Wathiwathi; Natokalau took the other side and end, Nasangalau and Nukunuku taking the side, Yandrana and Vakano the end. If Natokalau alone were working Nasangalau took the noble side, Nukunuku the sea end, Yandrana the common side, and Vakano the land end. It was forbidden for the commoners (*kaisi*) to tie their thatch higher than the top reeper until the nobles had tied theirs so as to inaugurate it (*sevu*) up to the top. The other side could then be finished.

342 574 Should Natokalau be building a house in Tumbou, Navuaira would make a feast for them, and then attend to their own affairs; or if Navuaira were building, Natokalau made the feast.

Canoe Building and Its Ceremonies

501 Almost all the canoes in Lau are dug-outs, and all carry outriggers. Lemaki told me of small plank canoes (*wangga vonovono*) 3 or 4 fathoms long, introduced by his family, but I did not see any. There are three grades of dug-out canoes: paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*); sailing canoe, called beam float (*thamakau*) in opposition to the third kind, the double canoe (*ndrua*), which for outrigger has a smaller canoe and which was built on a keel of two boards. The paddling canoe alone is common; the others being superseded by the cutter, only one of each surviving in Lau in 1910.

The paddling canoe (Pl. III, *D*) is used in smooth water only, either inside or outside the reef. It is punted in shallow water and paddled in deep, and can be sailed in calm waters.

396 The sailing canoe (Pl. III, *C*) is larger, more stoutly built, with high wash strakes, and is decked fore and aft. Figures 9 and 10 show the con-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

346 struction of a canoe seen at Soso in Kandavu. The hull is made of Fijian *kauri* or of greenheart. The lower end of the masthead is levelled and lashed to the mast; two stays called *tu ruarua* (I use the Kandavu terms) are fastened to the joint; the other end of one is lashed to the outmost spar, the end of the other to the lee side; one single stout stay called *tu ruarua* runs from the blocks (*i sandali*) on the masthead to the central outrigger boom and the outer float sticks. Two stays also run from the base of the masthead to the further blocks on the weather side of the canoe

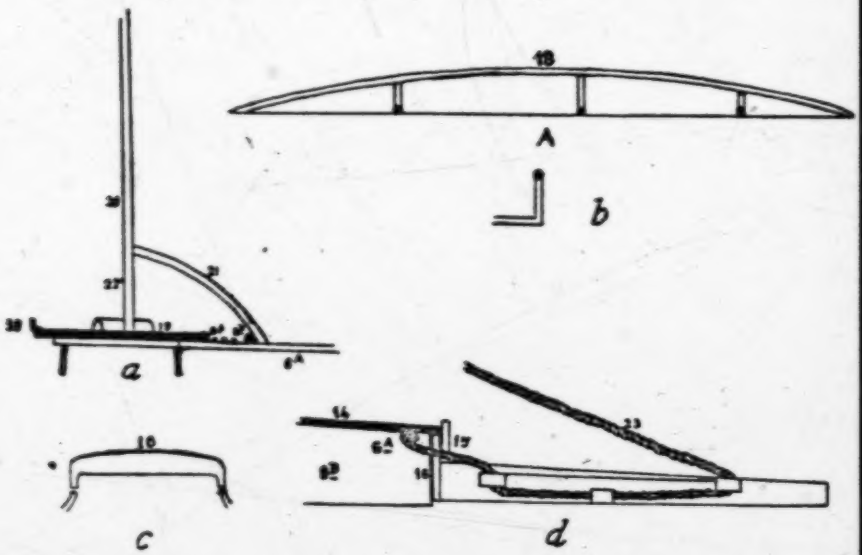

FIGURE 10.—The Kandavu canoe: *a*, mast; *b*, railing and detailed section; *c*, section of the fore deck; *d*, longitudinal view of the fore deck.

fore and aft, then back through two more blocks to the outer outrigger booms. The spaces (*ndungundungu*) under the fore and aft decks are almost completely partitioned off from the main hold (*ndreke*). The hold is partly covered by a platform on which a small hut may be erected. In larger canoes these become regular deck cabins which have flat roofs known as the sail shelf.

396 574 Large double canoes are spoken of as sacred canoes (*wangga tambu*). Any one can cut a dug-out paddling canoe and without ceremony, but large canoes are put into hands of carpenters, this entails feasts at various stages of the construction.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

First, when Roko Sau ordered a "net of the dead," (p. 183) or some such large canoe he would prepare gifts which were known as *mbutambuta*, amounting perhaps to a hundred whale's teeth, two to ten rolls of coir rope, and so forth; sometimes a woman was given. A nobleman was sent to Kambara to provide food for the carpenters; he would go to Vulanga and other islands to collect food. While the work was in progress it was forbidden to step over the boards under a fine. When the keel was laid down (*utu a takele*) a feast amounting to as many as a hundred pigs was held and more gifts were given. Another feast was held when the hull was about to be taken down to the sea for polishing with sand; some hundred men would work at this task, and the owners of the canoe made the feast. A third festival (*solevu*) took place when the two hulls were connected together with outrigger booms. These three feasts, the laying down of the keel, the polishing of the hull, and the joining of the canoes were the largest feasts. Of old as many as five men would be killed on those occasions, baked and eaten, or a woman would be brought raw (*kau ndroka mai*); some handsome young men or some one against whom the owners had a grudge would be enticed to Kambara, killed and eaten. When the second Tui Naiau's eldest son's canoe was built, Lemaki heard the herald in offering up the feast apologize that he had not brought a man to eat or a raw woman "for Christianity," he explained "spoils our feasts and bars the way."

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I could discover no charms to make a canoe strong or lucky; but certain tapu had to be observed;

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No woman might touch the canoe or she would have to pray for mercy with gifts and a feast; a woman might not embark on it while it was a "new canoe" until a ceremony had been performed. No one might eat on board until kava had been made on board the canoe. This was called "eating on account of" (or sitting across) (*kana mbaleti*), and was sometimes held in Lakemba, in which event no one was permitted to eat or smoke on the journey to Lakemba; but sometimes it was performed in Kambara to enable the crew to eat on the way.

When the canoe arrived in Lakemba a big feast and much stuff was prepared. The Lemaki offered up to the chief who was sitting at kava the bailer of the canoe, as a sign of ownership. A man with a good voice proclaimed the canoe in the center of the village, so that the people might know of it. Then a lady (*ngone marama*) young or old, was chosen to embark on the canoe. Bark cloth was wrapped around her waist until she could not walk and had to be carried aboard, followed by the other women also heavily wrapped. They all left their dresses on board; sometimes enough to fill two houses. This ceremony was called embarking on the canoe (*vondoki a wangga*).

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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A race (*rova*) was then held. The whole of Lakemba took part; there might be as many as three hundred runners, a custom still observed. When the new provincial cutter was brought to Lakemba the race started from a point about half to three quarters of a mile from Tumbou along the beach toward Tarukua; the ladies stood at the goal with bark cloth tied on sticks like flags. The runners are placed in several rows, each man pleasing himself except that none is allowed to stand too far in advance, and the man who won the last race is placed hindmost "to keep guard on the beach" (*vakatawa nuku*). One man stands about half way with a conch; when he blows the conch the signal is given: "Stamp once, stamp twice, stamp thrice, stamp four times, run." The man with the conch runs and blows as he runs; if the others catch him up he is trodden upon. Sometimes a man will hide in the bush and join in near the goal; in the old days if he was caught he was hit by the nobles; nowadays he is stamped upon, the common method of "ragging." While the men run the ladies wave their flags and sing:

Ure, ure wi, urea.
Laki kau mai a i sulu loaloa,
A ondra i suai a ngone sokoa.
Ure, ure wi urea.
Laki kau mai a masi volavola.
A ondra i suai a ngone ni Tonga.

Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Bring the black cloth,
A rag for the sailor boys.
Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Bring the variegated tapa,
A rag for the boys from Tonga.

Another runs:

Niu lele ki Tonga, lele mai,
Tou sa veithoka, niu lele.

Coconut that crossed to Tonga, crossed back,
Let us cast spears, floating nut.

The man who gets in first is said to salute the race (*tamaka a rova*). A piece of bark cloth is wrapped round his legs, and is called "the burying of his legs" (*a i mbulu ni yavana*). If a man is present who does not belong to Lau the winner hands him the bark cloth, otherwise he keeps it. The remainder of the stuff is divided among the carpenters and the crew; these gifts are called *i rova*. Unlike the race for a new garden (p. 102), this race has no ulterior motive (*vakaimbalembale*), but is merely a matter of kinship.

After a year or two the owners of the canoe again make gifts which are called the finishing of the canoe (*i vakaoti ni wangga*).

The Lauans made the *mbutambuta* and other feasts for the large canoes ordered by the Tongans and for small plank canoes, but for none did they make as big feasts as for canoes ordered by the Tui Naiau. The eating "for . . . " was held for small canoes if the owner could afford it.

Canoes known as "nets of the dead" did not remain long in Lakemba: they were taken to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Tonga; some remained in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

Ndtanivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

"Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

ceremonially. The envoy to Fulanga and the high chief then give a feast (*i nggaravi*) to the sailors.

In the bush near the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga, a *mbau* tree, which belongs to Lingau clan, is fenced with a stone wall and called *mbau ni sevu*. The fruit of the tree is tabu to all but members of the Lingau clan.

On Ongea the main offerings of first fruits are held annually for the mangrove (*Rhizophora mucronata*) and the *yangai*. The *yangai* is ripe in June and July. The offerings are presented to the chief of Ongea. Formerly every turtle caught was also presented to him, but today this custom is not regularly observed.

On Kambara in olden days the offering of *ndawa*, Tahitian chestnuts, and breadfruit was presented to the chief of Kambara. All turtles caught were presented to him also. Today first fruit offerings are presented only when the crop is particularly good. The chief of crops sets and lifts the tabu. In April, while I was on the island, an offering of sweet yams was made in Tokalau. The men of the village collected sweet yams from their gardens and took them to the chief of crops, who examined them. After they had been steamed in the clan earth ovens, the chief of crops presented them to the chief of Kambara and the village headman jointly. Afterwards the food was divided and eaten by the village.

On Mothe an annual offering of first fruits is held for breadfruit and Tahitian chestnuts, and an offering of garden products for yams, sweet potatoes, and sweet yams. The offering was formerly presented to the priest, but now it goes to the chief of Mothe. From each clump of banana trees the uppermost ring of the first bunch of the season is given annually to the chief. Each season the first cluster of fruit from each *ndawa* tree goes to the chief. He also receives all turtles, all *ndonu* and all *sangga* fish caught by the Mothe people.

On Namuka the last offering was held several years ago. They stopped the tabu because they had plenty of food.

KAVA CEREMONY

Kava drinking is part of all important ceremonials. It is indispensable in rites connected with the chief—his death, marriage, circumcision; the reception of a visiting chief; and the building of a chief's house or canoe. It always precedes a feast (*mangitchi*).

Kava root is a valuable object of ceremonial exchange. It is in great demand, for kava is scarce on the southern islands where it is rarely planted and must be imported from other parts of Fiji. When a stranger arrives in a village he presents ceremonially a whole fresh kava root to the hosts. Dry kava roots are substituted when the green plant is not available. Kava is never prepared and drunk without ceremony, which is elaborate in the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

STRING FIGURES

String figures (*sana*) are made all over Lau, chiefly by women and children. I did not attempt to record them in the limited time available for this study.[3] 524

OTHER GAMES

The games of *lafo* or disk sliding, *kitchia* (*kitia* in Mbauan) or squat hopping, *vakasiri* or guessing, and *vakatu* or rhyming, described by Hocart (15, pp. 92-95) are known in southern Lau. *Lafo* is played outdoors by young people in Kambara, not indoors by adults as at Lakemba. *Kitchia* is played by girls only on Fulanga.

CHIEF'S INSTALLATION

No chief's installation ceremony (*veimbuli*) was witnessed, but an account of the installation of the present chief of Fulanga, an island chief of low rank, was recorded on Fulanga. 622

About a month after the death of the old chief, when a good man had been found in the Vunikoro clan to replace him, the chief of crops called a meeting of the whole island to set the date for the installation. Each village made preparations to contribute part of the installation feast (*mangitchi ni veimbuli*). On the appointed day each village prepared its own earth ovens and cooked its share of the feast. The cooked feast was placed in baskets and piled in front of the house of the chief of crops. When all the food had been assembled it was examined by the chief of crops, who told the people to take it to the new chief. When the people approached with the feast the new chief emerged from his house dressed in ceremonial attire of Tongan tapa and a wreath and with his body oiled. He wore nothing on his head. The feast was presented to him and then the young men of Vunikoro carried it to the ceremonial ground where it was spread on mats. Then men of Vunikoro pounded kava provided by their clan. It was served in the open, and the Fijian ceremony was used. The drinking order was: chief of Fulanga, *tui naro*, chief of crops, chief's administrator, and chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the chief drank he said that anyone who thought he should not drink must say so. No one spoke. Only one round of kava was served. When the bowl was empty the drinkers clapped. The new chief was thus installed. The chief of the ceremonial ground divided the feast, and the *tui naro* distributed it in the following order: chief of Fulanga, district headman, native missionary, Vunikoro (clan headman), Rasea (clan headman), chief of crops, chief of the ceremonial ground, *tui naro*, Muanaira, and Naivindamu.

Installation ceremonies for chiefs of higher rank are more elaborate. Besides the kava ceremony and the feast they usually include the tying of a piece of tapa on the arm of the new chief, as an emblem of chieftainship, and the confinement of the chief for four days. During this time noise is tabu. This is followed by the bathing ceremony.

CHIEF'S RECEPTION

Great preparations were made on Kambara for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, who is district commissioner of Lau and the sister's son (*vasu*) of the late 643 574

[3] For information concerning string figures from Fiji, see James Hornell, String figures from Fiji and western Polynesia (17, pp. 11-60).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

643 574 Ratu Finau, the high chief of Lau. Assemblies of the men of the island made arrangements for the reception. The women on both sides of the island began to practice *meke* two months before he was expected. A canoe, sent from Nggalinggali to Wangava to secure turtles, returned with six, and they were placed in the turtle fence in the lagoon near Nggalinggali to await the feast. The finishing touches were applied to two sailing canoes, which had been under construction for the past six months. One was built by the west side and one by the east side of the island. The women worked on two mat sails for the canoes and on two long pieces of barkcloth.

During the preparations a dispute arose between the two sides of the island regarding the program. The east side wished to hold separate ceremonies in Nggalinggali. The headman of Tokalau village insisted that the two sides cooperate in ceremonies held at Tokalau since the chief would probably not have time to go to Nggalinggali or to witness two sets of ceremonies. Several meetings of the island elders took place concerning the disagreement. Long speeches were made and whispered conferences held. The dispute was settled when the chief arrived and his herald announced he could stay only a few hours. All the ceremonies were held at Tokalau. The envoy to Lakemba, who was in charge of the ceremonies, chose representatives from the clans of the chief group.

The ceremonies began when the elders of the island paddled a canoe out to the chief's cutter and the headman of Tokalau village presented a whale's tooth ceremonially to the chief on behalf of the island. After the presentation the flag was lowered, so this ceremony is called hauling down the flag (*luva ni tawake*). Next, the same man presented a second whale's tooth, a ceremony called weighing the anchor (*thavu ni kelekele*). Then the Kambara people went ashore.

[516 576] Some time later the chief's wife landed. She was received by the women of the village who sat cross-legged to show respect along the avenue through which she passed on her way to the village. Then the chief accompanied by his herald landed, and he was greeted in the same way by the men. The chief, his wife and his retainers were escorted by the island elders to a pavilion outside the government house for the wading (*nggalonggalovi*) ceremony. The chief sat at the upper end of the pavilion, his wife on his right, and one herald sat on either side of the pair. The island elders formed a kava circle, according to rank.

A bunch of green coconuts (*i vono ni vanua*) was presented to the chief by the chief of crops. The natives say the purpose of this ceremony is to let the chief know that the products of the land are at his disposal. Next a coconut-leaf mat (*tambakau*) was presented to the chief's wife. Then an offering of dry kava root was prepared and drunk. During the kava ceremony, Tongan [43] songs were sung by the Kambaran men. This was not part of the ceremonial

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes.

Life Crises Ceremonies[4]

Pregnancy

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring.

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant.

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

464 As a matter of fact the natives do not tend to congregate in large numbers in commercial centers such as Suva and Levuka. [484] They like to travel about the Fiji group and visit their relatives. [574] Many of the young men leave their villages on labor contracts on copra plantations in Taveuni or other parts of Fiji for several years, but in time nearly all of them return to their own villages to settle and cultivate their lands. The majority of Fijians are peasant farmers who possess their own land, and cultivate only enough to provide for their food and a small surplus of copra or bananas to exchange for trade articles such as cloth, soap, tobacco, and kerosene which have become necessities. They can, through their own efforts, raise enough produce to cover their personal needs and taxes, usually about £2 a year, and practically nowhere is it necessary for a native to hire himself out by contract. When this is done it is usually to cover expenses which the community has incurred for the sake of increasing its social prestige or improving its resources —such as building a cutter or new water supply. In fact, in at least 50 per cent of the villages visited in Lau, practically all the young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were away for a year on labor contracts, earning money to pay a debt incurred by the district. A few young men from southern Lau are employed as sailors aboard trade or government cutters. Their families live either in their home villages or in Suva.

461 Protection of the natives against competition with other racial groups in the modern economic system has its dangers as 178 well as its advantages. Just as the elimination of warfare has tended to sap vitality from the culture, so also shielding the people from the economic struggle, which would otherwise destroy them, has tended to weaken them. The natives are inclined to become lazy and self-pitying. In the Lau islands, for instance, there is a definite distaste for work on the land, especially among the nobles. This is due partly to a traditional prejudice, and partly also to the very real difficulties of

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A NIGHT SCENE ON NAYAU ISLAND.

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One of the experiences that has remained most vivid in my mind, and which created a lasting impression, was a torchlight ceremony that took place when I was once visiting the island of Nayau, in company with the Secretary for Native Affairs, who was on a special mission from the Governor. We had just landed from the government yacht, after a quick run across the twenty miles or so of open sea from Lakeba Island, when the "Buli," or local chief of the island, came up to me and asked permission to hold this ceremony that same evening, in honour of the *Talai*, or deputy of the Governor.

He said that although it was getting dark they had arranged to carry it on by torchlight, and that they wished to receive us in the real manner that in ancient days had been the custom in Nayau.

Proceeding in single file along the narrow track through the bush, the land crabs scuttling away at our approach, we passed on to a broader turf road lit by the red rays of the fast setting sun,

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123 and walked along for some distance, the islanders
574 joining our little retinue behind and asking, with many jests and flashes of white teeth, the latest gossip from "the capital." Presently, a horse-
123 man approached, splendidly upright, and making
574 a fine picture with his great head of hair carefully
492 combed out, and his proud cast of countenance. But his saddlery would hardly have passed muster in Rotten Row, for it consisted of a loose sack thrown across the pony, and a short length of rope twisted loosely round the animal's nose by a noose in the middle, the two ends running backwards to form the reins! Equipped thus, he yet maintained a beautiful seat; and at our approach vaulted off with an astonishing dexterity, and remained standing until we had passed, a smile of welcome lighting up his handsome
[576] features.[1] I heard my clerk ask him where he was going (the usual form of salutation in these islands, and not intended for unseemly curiosity), and his reply was, "To the next town to let them know the Turagas have arrived."

123 On nearing the town our approach was sighted
574 by watchful boys, who raced back with a flash of
[534] brown legs, and presently we heard the deep booming of the *lali*[2] announcing our arrival.
[516] Passing along the main street of the town, bor-
[576]

[1] According to Polynesian custom no one may be (literally) raised to a higher position than a chief.
[2] Hollow wooden drum.

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dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch-holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup, and filled with sand, into which the dropping fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful features of the men, sitting silent as a row of graven images; while dimly in the shadows behind could be seen rows of spectators, men, women, and children, all silent and motionless until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was in readiness for the *Kavakavanua*, or ceremony. First of all appeared at the far end of the line a pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling side by side, and holding up on their folded arms a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees, and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

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series of side or slanting paces, their bodies swaying in unison, and all in dead silence. When they reached us they deposited their burden at our feet, with a few, almost inaudible, words, and then retreated down the long line, still facing us, in the same manner as they had come. This part was called the *Rogo tabakau*, and signified that they had brought the *Draudrau ni Vanua*[1] as a sign that the representative of the Governor—and therefore of the King—held sway over all that had grown upon the land since the last visit. (The presentation of baskets of earth, to signify that the chief held sway over the actual soil itself, had been made to the first Governor forty years before, on the cession of the Colony to Great Britain, so there was no necessity to repeat this.)

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Our *matapuli*[2] (or aide-de-camp or herald), then touched the *tabakau* in silence, the touch signifying his acceptance, on our behalf, of the emblem.

Then another white-bearded old man came along, also advancing on his knees, with upraised hands grasping a heavy stalk of large green coco-nuts, the nuts themselves, two in number, drooping over and suspended on his left shoulder. One nut represented the visiting chief, and the other the people of the land. He deposited these

[1] Literally, leaves of the land.
[2] This word is often used in old ceremonies in the Lau Islands instead of the Fijian word "mata ni vanua."

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in front of us, and then waited while the leading *matapuli* of the Nayau people came forward, and, sitting down, laid his hands on the nuts and made a little speech to us, asking that the great chief should excuse any faults he might see, and deal mercifully with the people and protect them as always. 123 574 431

Our *matapuli* then touched the offerings as usual, and spoke a few words in reply, saying that we accepted the offering and that we hoped the land would flourish and the people increase and prosper. This presentation of the nuts on their branch is always called *Ai Fono ni nona cudra*[1] or "the dam against his wrath"; in other words, a propitiatory gift.

The Nayau *matapuli* then came along, crouching, and bringing a number of ivory whales' teeth or *tabua*, heavy curved yellow tusks, each about nine inches long and supported from the two ends by a loop of dyed and twisted coco-nut fibre sinnet. These were offered with a few deprecatory sentences, speaking of "these insignificant teeth" in true Oriental style, though they are actually in this part of the Pacific the greatest gift it is possible to offer, and have an importance far above their intrinsic value. [In the old days the offer (and acceptance) of a *tabua* to a chief meant that any request accompanying it could [237] [435]

[1] "Bono" in Fijian.

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123 not well be refused, and might mean the cementing
• 574 of an alliance, or the request for a wife, or the
431 sacking of a rival town. Nowadays the presentation of them is purely a matter of ceremony. This part of the performance was called the *Qalovi*, and should properly have taken place while we were still on the water, the islanders swimming out to us carrying the *tabua*, but this is now seldom done.] Our *matapuli* took them up in token of acceptance and gazed at them for a moment in deep admiration, as etiquette demanded, and then made another short set speech, repeating his (or, rather, our) wishes that all should be well with the land.

After this two men staggered in bearing an enormous multi-branching root of green *Yaqona*[1] which they placed at our feet. Our *matapuli*
[201] here did the *vaka cobo*, or clapping of the hollowed hands cross-ways, as is always done where *Yaqona*
123 is concerned, and told the men to prepare a bowl
574 of the drink from it.
272 At this point the torches were extinguished, lanterns suspended from the trees, and the parallel lines of men automatically grouped themselves in a half-circle facing us, while an enormous round polished bowl, made of a single section of the *Vesi* tree, and decorated with hanging clusters

[1] Known as Kava or Hava in other parts of the Pacific; and with the drinking of which all important ceremonies must inevitably be connected.

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of large white cowry shells, was brought into the ring. Two or three handsome young men, of magnificent physique—"the *Yaqona* mixers"—then gathered round this, and the ceremony started. A fathom of cowry-strung sinnet hanging over from one portion of the rim was carefully set out so as to point directly at us; and then started the rhythmical pounding in a hollow wooden cylinder of chopped off sections of the root. (The drink was formerly made in Tonga by adding water to chewed contributions from each member of the party, and the Tongans introduced the practice into Lau and thence to Fiji. But in course of years pounding was substituted in Tonga, and the Tongans then thought it a disgusting thing that Fijians should chew! Chewing has now been put down by law in Fiji on hygienic grounds, and is only surreptitiously carried on in certain mountainous districts.)

When the powdered fragments shot into the big bowl were considered sufficient the bowl was tilted towards us to exhibit them, and our *matapuli* then gave the order "*Lose.*"[1] Water was then poured in from several *Pupu*,[2] and some old men started, in the high-pitched, quavering notes that are always used for this, the ancient *Yaqona* song or *méké*, the words of which they themselves hardly know the meaning of.

[1] Wring it out or mix it.

[2] Lauan word for hollowed entire coco-nut shells suspended in woven nets of sinnet.

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hardly know the meaning of. After a little while, the mixture having attained a sufficiently fluid state, the old leader of the *méké* called out "*Livi wai se?*" (Shall water continue to be poured or not?); but, apparently, no answer was expected, this being a set phrase signifying that there was enough. *Mai lose* (the wringer), then took up his duties with a thick hank of lace-like, but strong, *vau* bark fibres; and, sweeping the liquid with circular movements, gathered up in the meshwork the solid particles of *Yaqona*, leaving the turbid brown fluid comparatively clear. This sweeping process was gone through many times, the *vau* being wrung out until the last drop of fluid had been expressed from it, and the fibres twisted until the muscles of the man's arms looked ready to crack, the dry residue being shaken out over a mat at the side. When at last even this expert was satisfied he called out, "It is clear," and our *matapuli* responded, "*Tu mai*,"[1] at which two young men, decorated with coloured leaves round their arms and legs, started to carry round the drink in polished half-coco-nut shells.

The *Talai* drank his off and then sent back the empty cup along the mats in a spinning fashion, as is the custom, and I did the same; deep-toned words of "*Maca, ah, maca*,"[2] fol-

[1] "Let them arise and approach."
[2] "It is empty" (he has drunk).

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lowed by a measured clapping of hands, greeting this action.

So also when any of the other higher chiefs subsequently drank, the same *maca* and hand clapping followed. The order of precedence was very strictly observed, and he who had poured the water called out, with a peculiar wailing cry, as each cup was filled, "*Kava kuo heka*,"[1] at which the *matapuli* called out the name of some one present. That individual thereupon clapped his hands [201] once, to draw the attention of the cup-bearer to him, and the cup was presented. In Lau they have now adopted the Fijian order of precedence, and the biggest chief takes the first drink. But in Tonga the chief drinks third, his *matapuli* and one other drinking before him, possibly to safeguard against poison.

And so ended this very impressive ceremony, a relic of Lau in the olden days, and but seldom performed now. And never before or since, in the many years I have spent in the Lau Islands, have I seen it performed among the fantastic shadows and flickering lights from a living lane of torch-bearers.

[1] Literally, "The Kava is lifted"; in other words, "Who is to have this?"

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173 "The men of Lakeba—so they say—were very anxious to get the 'Tui Nayau' to go and live at Lakeba. So they made a great *volau*[1] to Nayau, bringing with them many goods, carved wooden bowls, and yams, and fine mats from Ono. And in return, at the sharing out, they took away much *gatu*[2] and dried fish, and *wali wali*[3] from Nayau; but two brothers, Qilaiso and another whose name I know not, would take nothing. And these two went to the Tui Nayau and asked him to go with them to Lakeba and be their chief, and that that alone should be their share of the *volau*. But Tui Nayau would not listen to them, but said that they should take a basketful of the soil of Nayau instead, as a sign for the Tui Nayau.

So they agreed to this, and returning to Lakeba they landed at Navutoka and there hid this *qele tabu*.[4] And then they built a temple over the spot, and after that went up to the town and spread the tale that they had captured the 'Tui Nayau,' but that he would not show himself to the people, being too sacred, but would reside only in this temple.

"But this, sir, is of course but a tale of the men of Nayau. All know that the Tui Nayau henceforth came to live at Lakeba and his sons are here to this day."

[574]

[1] Ceremonial visitation with interchange of gifts.
[2] Native cloth. [3] Coco-nut oil. [4] Sacred earth.